



Social Action

NEWS LETTER

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PRESBYTERIANS REPORT ON CHURCH INTEGRATION

The most recent study of racial pattern in church membership has been made of the formerly Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. The preliminary findings of this survey, reported to the May, 1958, General Assembly, are published in the September issue of *Social Progress*.

The following appear to be the most significant items in the report:

1. 72% of the questionnaires sent out were returned. The survey focused on Negro-white relationships.

A "desegregated" church being defined as one that has one or more persons of the other race in its membership, life, or worship. An "inclusive" church defined as one that has at least two persons of the opposite race on its membership roll and/or at least six persons of the opposite race in church on a typical Sunday morning.

2. 609 predominantly white congregations reported at least one Negro. 309 of these are classified "inclusive." 38 predominantly Negro congregations reported at least one Caucasian.

3. 2,870 all-white congregations are located in neighborhoods where not a single Negro is reported living within one-half mile of the building. Another 701 all-white congregations report less than 1% Negro population living within one-half mile.

4. By classifying the returns on a geographical basis the reporters conclude that congregations tend to reflect the residential pattern of their immediate geographical parish.

The chief emphasis of the report is that the great majority of responding churches are located in one-race communities.

Since "attend-the-church-in-your-neighborhood" is so much the pattern of church life, any realistic move to make the congregation inclusive of all races must include opening the community to all races.

LEWIS H. DEER

"MEETING FELLOWSHIP NEEDS OF THE OLDER PERSON"

A Local Church Ministry of Services

Every individual at some time in his life has experienced loneliness. But there is no loneliness equal to that which an older person faces when he or she is no longer surrounded by the warmth of family life and when impaired health limits the outside contacts which such a person may have.

Surveys and studies which have been made of local church programs for older people have led leaders in the field of the aging to conclude that elderly people are the most neglected and lonely group in our churches. With older people there is the same "longing to belong" as there is in youth. Among the widely prevalent unmet needs of this group are: the need for companionship and affection—the need to give and get in terms of human relationships—the need to love and be loved—the need to have status—to be recognized, appreciated and regarded as worth-while.

Local church planning groups in the Home and State Missions Planning Council have recognized these facts. After several meetings of discussion and planning it was suggested that a Brotherhood program dealing with "The Church's Concern for the Aging" be made available to local churches. Further planning centered the program for 1958-1959 in "The Fellowship Needs of Older Persons," and designated a six-week period for the emphasis, preferably coinciding with the National Benevolent Association program prior to Christmas. A similar emphasis would be selected annually giving special attention each year to some vital need of the older adult (i.e. housing, economic problems, health problems, counseling and

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SOCIAL ACTION COMMISSION PRESENTS OKLAHOMA GOVERNOR AT CONVENTION

The Social Action Commission of the National Christian Missionary Convention, with Mrs. Rose Page Welch and Lewis Deer serving as co-chairmen, carried out two significant parts of the Convention's 42nd annual session held recently in Oklahoma City.

On "Civil Rights Night" the Honorable Raymond Gary, Governor of Oklahoma, addressed the Convention. He placed special emphasis on the necessity of citizens complying with 1954 decision of the U. S. supreme court. He stated that he was proud of Oklahoma and all of its people in this respect, and not only for this, but for other forward steps in human relations. The governor touched upon the way in which the social revolution in America negatively affects our international relations.

The second part of the Commission's work was the conducting of a "Social Education and Action Workshop" under the leadership of Lewis Deer and Thomas Griffin of the Department of Social Welfare, UCMS. These sessions stressed two areas: (1) "The Christian's Political Responsibility;" (2) the need for minority groups to re-appraise their purchasing powers and think in terms of setting up credit unions, Federal Loan Association and Consumer Co-ops. This, so that through such a competitive economic base, greater respect will be manifested, and more barriers will be lifted on the part of the majority because of it.

Dr. Alfonso L. Dowell led the discussion of "Christian Political Responsibility," while Mr. John H. Dutton, Field Representative of the Oklahoma Credit Union League, served as leader in the second area of concern.

BIRTH CONTROL — RIGHT OR WRONG?

Birth Control—right or wrong? For many years now Protestant thinking on this subject has gone no further than: (1) negative reactions to Roman Catholic positions and/or (2) tacit support of the sale and use of contraceptives by the general public. Individual Protestants have, of course, taken stands upon it and in many cases have locally associated themselves with the Planned Parenthood cause. More recently the Lambeth Conference has begun to enunciate a position for the Anglicans and in some cases Lutheranism has spoken on the issue. In general, however, Protestantism is fuzzy and undecided on the matter. What are the basic issues?

First there is the question whether we shall consider birth control in isolation or in the framework of the total situation. Catholics for example see it only in relation to what they conceive as the central purpose of marriage—the procreation of children. Protestants should see it in terms of the framework of a total responsibility to God. Certainly Protestants are concerned with the continuance of the race and recognize procreation as one of the functions of marriage. On the other hand Protestants are also concerned with the overcrowding of populations in many parts of our world and with the consequent physical misery and spiritual degradation to which it leads. Protestants are also concerned with the possibility of maximum development of the individual persons, which development they feel are often denied by families with more children than they can properly care for. Protestants are also concerned with the

health and welfare of mothers which they feel are threatened by the unlimited and indiscriminate bearing of children. It is therefore in the context of their *total* responsibility to God for the welfare of their families, their communities and the whole human race that Protestants, generally speaking, judge birth control measures to be, not only justified, but in many cases mandatory.

Second, there is the question of the place of the sex act itself in marriage. For Catholics the sex act itself is only justified in terms of the intention to have children. Indeed the act itself is conceived as sinful and only to be allowed because of the good—procreation—which grows out of it. Protestants are coming to take a different position in this regard. For many, if not most Protestants, the sex relationship within marriage is recognized: (1) as essentially good in and of itself (2) as the most significant expression of the love of husband and wife for each other. As such, Protestants consider the sex act a necessary part of a good marriage quite apart from the question of procreation.

In the third place there is the question of rights of individual conscience versus social control involved in this matter. Protestants, of course, in general take the position: (1) That the maximum of individual freedom be allowed in such decisions as long as this does not interfere with the welfare or freedom of others and (2) that if men have the right to deliberately seek to cause conception and pregnancy they have also the right to prevent pregnancy in the interest of human well being. For the Protestant it is difficult, if not indeed impossible, to see the difference in principle between preventing conception through celibacy, continence within marriage, or the use of the so-called “rhythm method” and preventing conception through the use of other contraceptive procedures. The real question is not “how” conception is prevented or encouraged but “whether” under existing conditions it is better to encourage pregnancy or not and “whether” the individual is granted the maximum freedom in deciding this issue and in implementing his decision.

BARTON HUNTER

BRINK OF WAR AT QUEMOY

Since Russia and the United States have reached nuclear weapons parity, the world has moved from crises to crises in the “security” born of fear. No nation, it is said, would upset the “balance of terror” and plunge the world into a war which everyone would lose. There always was an uneasiness about this thesis even among its adherents. This feeling was intensified during the weeks when the forces entangled in the Formosa Strait dispute shot, bluffed, and bargained closer and closer to the brink of war.

Even if the appalling prospect of a nuclear war again restrains the contending parties at the last moment, it has become apparent that “fear” as a deterrent to war has serious limitations. One of these is lack of control over the forces that might make for war or peace. In the dispute over the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu the nuclear powers, U.S.A. and Russia, must rely upon persuasion to tame the passions of their respective allies. But a mainland bombing attempt by Chiang or an attack on Formosa itself by the Chinese Communists could set the stage for a major war. It could be an accidental or premeditated stepping over the brink to a nuclear war.

The “point of no return” might never be reached under the strict logic of the deterrent through fear thesis. But strict logic or objectivity is difficult for historians, let alone the creators of history. Fear may distort as well as deter. Fear may distort the nature of the problem and the opponents’ intentions to an alarming degree and thereby lead to miscalculations that override responsible fear that deters war.

If not fear then what? James Warburg has said “it is too early for world government and too late for anything else.” But it may not be too early to give up limited sovereignty through disarmament pacts under U.N. inspection. It is certainly too late to settle for anything less.

ROBERT A. FANGMEIER

Current U.N. Seminars: (1) November 10-14, 1958, (2) January 12-15, 1959—two days will be held at U.N., New York, and two days at Washington, D.C. (3) February 3-6, 1959. (Churchmen's Washington Seminar at Washington, D.C.)

WRITE: Department of Social Welfare, UCMS, for details on these Seminars.

SOCIAL ACTION NEWS-LETTER

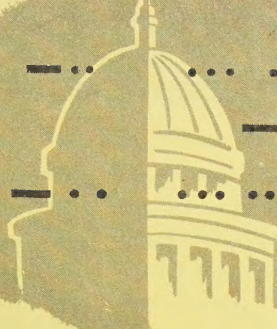
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NEWS

from

the

NATION'S

CAPITOL

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CRISIS IN THE FAR EAST

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson said on September 6, "We seem to be drifting, either dazed or indifferent, toward war with China, a war without friends or allies, and over issues which the Administration has not presented to the people, and which are not worth a single American life."

This *Newsletter* discusses some of the problems of United States relations with the two Governments claiming to represent China—the Nationalist Government usually referred to as the Republic of China, on Taiwan (known in the West as Formosa) under Chiang Kai-shek, and the Chinese Communist Government on the mainland, called the People's Republic of China, headed by Mao Tse-tung.

The thesis advanced here is that the United States position regarding military aid and defense of the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu is militarily and diplomatically untenable from the viewpoint of much of the world. The time has now come to reconsider the future of Taiwan, and the questions of U.S. recognition and UN seating of Communist China as part of the task of achieving permanent stability in the Far East.

SOME STEPS WHICH THE UNITED STATES MIGHT TAKE TO EASE TENSION AND PROMOTE PEACE IN THE FAR EAST:

1. Support a cease-fire and demilitarization of Quemoy and Matsu and a return to Taiwan of the Nationalist forces there. The Tachen withdrawal in 1955 provides a pattern for such action.
2. Explore submitting the question of the offshore islands to the International Court of Justice.
3. Express to the world the willingness of the United States to submit this and similar disputes to settlement by mediation or other methods where third party judgment is available, along lines consonant with the UN Charter.
4. Seek a solution for the future status of Taiwan through the United Nations — a solution which will safeguard the rights of the Nationalist Chinese and the original Taiwanese — possibly through a plebiscite to establish Taiwan as an independent demilitarized area, or some other solution.
5. Support the seating of the People's Republic of China in the UN.
6. Extend diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China.
7. Bring Communist China into the disarmament discussions, and urge that she permit inspection stations within her borders to monitor an agreement to end nuclear weapons tests. Remove restrictions on travel to China which now effectively cut off all real contact between the United States and the most populous nation on earth; and remove the barriers to trade in peaceful goods.

▶ Write your views to President Dwight D. Eisenhower; Secretary of State John Foster Dulles or Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs; your two Senators and the Editor of your daily newspaper.

PROBLEM IS COMPLEX

Mainland China contains over 600 million people—almost a quarter of the world's population. It is governed by the Chinese Communist Party which set up a new government on October 1, 1949. The Kuomintang Government, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, had previously collapsed and the Generalissimo had withdrawn to Taiwan maintaining that the government he established there was the only legitimate government for all of China. Taiwan's population of about 10 million includes more than 500,000 Nationalist soldiers and 1.5 million Chinese who fled from the mainland.

Since January 1950 the UN has been faced with the problem of which government is entitled to China's place in the UN and the coveted seat on the Security Council. To date the mainland government has been unsuccessful in its attempts to be seated.

United States policy has shifted from one of "allowing the dust to settle" in 1949 to firm military, economic and political support of the Nationalist China and non-recognition of the Peking Government. The Korean War and Communist Chinese participation in it did much to bring about this change.

When the Nationalist Chinese withdrew to Taiwan, roughly 100 miles offshore, they retained possession of a number of islands including the Pescadores near Taiwan, the Tachens, and Quemoy and Matsu which lie some three and ten miles respectively from the mainland. In 1955 the Communist Government launched a series of raids and artillery attacks on a number of the islands immediately offshore. The American response was to define through the Formosa Resolution a clear intent to defend Formosa and the Pescadores and an ambiguous intent concerning the islands immediately offshore. The Nationalist Government was persuaded to withdraw its forces from the Tachen Islands and the crisis passed.

CRISIS DEEPENS

Now it is reported that about one-third of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Army is entrenched in the islands of Quemoy and Matsu as a defense against invasion of Taiwan, as a means of blockading the Chinese ports of Amoy and Foochow and as a possible springboard for the conquest of the mainland.

Convoy



On August 23, 1958 Chinese Communist artillery bombarded Quemoy in the heaviest shelling in the island's history, touching off the present crisis and bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war. United States military and economic assistance to Chiang which already totals over a billion dollars has been greatly accelerated.

The United States military buildup on Taiwan has been speeded, especially construction of missile bases from which missiles aimed at the Chinese mainland can be launched. American forces in the area possess nuclear weapons. United States pilots have been given orders to "shoot to kill" if Chinese Communists attack them while they are on convoying missions over blockaded Quemoy, and to follow the doctrine of hot pursuit which authorizes them to pursue Communist planes over Communist territory. And from China and the Soviet Union have come statements indicating nuclear weapons are available for use against the United States.

The Soviet Union has threatened to use massive retaliation if the United States intervenes militarily in the coastal dispute and promised to come to Communist

China's aid with "all necessary strength." On September 15 Chiang Kai-shek warned the world that he must strike soon the gun emplacements on the mainland from which the shelling of Quemoy is taking place. While United States and Communist Chinese negotiators meet in Warsaw, the United States and the Soviet Union exchanged harsh notes which greatly inflamed the situation. On September 20 President Eisenhower angrily returned a Soviet note warning that United States troops and ships faced "expulsion" from the Taiwan area unless they were withdrawn "now."

On September 11 President Eisenhower reported to the American people. He stressed that negotiation and conciliation should never be abandoned in favor of force and strife, but told the American people and the world there would be no retreat in the face of armed aggression. "... A Western Pacific Munich would not buy us peace or security. . . . If history teaches anything, appeasement would make it more likely that we would have to fight a major war." The President cited the Formosa Resolution passed in January 1955 as authority for his actions.

Criticism of Official Policy Mounts

In a vigorous editorial *The Washington Post and Times Herald* on September 13 said that there was one virtue in the President's speech—that it made clear beyond any doubt that the United States would fight to defend the Quemoy and Matsu islands against a Communist invasion, but added that the rest of the speech "could scarcely be worse. It repeated every tired cliché and false analogy about the situation in the Strait. . . . Apart from the altogether misleading comparison with Munich, the speech distorted history in other respects. . . . During the previous 5000 years of recorded history the islands were under control of the mainland, even during the period when Japan held Formosa. . . . The predicament remains, and the Administration has chosen to get out of it by digging more resolutely into it."

Walter Lippman in his copyrighted column of September 18 commented on the "very embarrassing predicament" facing the United States: "The President had a lot to say the other night about how our position in Asia would be hurt if we did not defend Quemoy. Has he realized what will be our position in Asia and in Europe and in Africa and in Latin America if he goes to war for Quemoy?"

Lippmann continued, "What is needed is a cease-fire,

which will at least postpone the fateful decision and provide a little time for reason to assert itself. . . . There will be no chance of an agreement to renounce the use of force in the Formosa area which does not carry with it measures on our part to extricate ourselves from our entanglement with Chiang. For, as his Ambassador in Washington told us just the other day, Chiang will have nothing to do with the idea of renouncing force."

Other critical views have been expressed by some members of Congress, commentators, editorial writers and in letters to the editor. Representative of views expressed abroad is the comment of the influential London *Times* on September 8: "The United States would be wise to follow the advice of many of its friends and allies and refuse to support the Nationalists on the offshore islands. . . ."

WHAT FUTURE FOR TAIWAN (FORMOSA)?

On the surface, no solution seems either easy or clear, since the Chinese Communists seem unwilling to give up their claim to Taiwan and the Chinese Nationalists assert their right to return if possible to the mainland and to seek to regain power over all of China. Historically, the Chinese have had a great capacity for accommodation, and if military conflict can be avoided, it is not unlikely that some arrangement would be worked out.

One suggestion is that the island be made a UN Trust Territory. Since the Charter provides that "The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationships among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality" (Article 78), Taiwan could not be both a trust territory and a sovereign state.

A second suggestion, therefore, is that the island be considered an independent country with the right to its own representation in the UN, and probably some guarantee on the part of other nations to help preserve its independence. Under this arrangement the island might well be neutralized and demilitarized.

A plebiscite either now or at some future time, preferably under UN supervision, could give the people of Taiwan the opportunity to choose independence, special UN trust status, federation with some other state, or joining mainland China.

At the present time both Chinas are strongly opposed to a two-China policy. Premier Chou En-lai in a speech to the National People's Congress in February 1958 said:

"We absolutely will not allow this scheme to materialize in any form or on any occasion. . . . Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. All the Chinese people are opposed to the American scheme to create 'two Chinas.'"

Whether the Chinese Communist regime as part of a broad settlement might agree to a program which would couple its admission to the UN with the establishment of a separate government for Taiwan and a guarantee of its security by the major powers remains to be seen. Military experts say that if China is to be unified under

Chiang Kai-shek by military means, United States forces would have to supply the equipment and most of the fighting men.

The United States has poured into Taiwan more than a billion dollars of economic aid, defense support and support for the Nationalist forces, since the Nationalist Government moved there in 1949. This is in addition to money for United States military personnel on the island and the maintenance of the Seventh Fleet in the Formosa Straits. The vast bulk of this money was spent for underwriting the Nationalist Army and the economy of Taiwan which could not have been maintained otherwise. Since the United States probably will be asked to continue large scale financing of the Taiwan government, could the U.S. encourage the Nationalist Chinese to work out a policy for an independent Taiwan if that is what the residents of Taiwan desire?

FORMOSA RESOLUTION AND TREATY

● In late January 1955 the Senate by a vote of 85-3 and the House by a vote of 410-3 passed the Formosa Resolution. The key provision states:

"The President . . . is authorized to employ the armed forces of the United States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores against armed attack, this authority to include the securing and protecting of such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands and the taking of such other measures as he judges to be required or appropriate in securing the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores." (P.L. 4, 84th Congress.)

Senator Lehman proposed an amendment to delete any guarantees to defend "the related positions and territories" and to deny the President authority to take "such other measures as he judged to be required." The Lehman amendment was defeated 74-13. Six of the eight Democrats now on the Foreign Relations Committee voted with Senator Lehman and against giving the President authority to defend Quemoy and Matsu—Fulbright, Humphrey, Mansfield, Morse and Long. Senator Kennedy was paired in favor of the amendment.

Senator Lehman described his amendment as designed so that Congress would not "abdicate its responsibilities and . . . place them, unlimited, undefined, unspecified and unreservedly, in the hands of the President." Had the Lehman amendment passed the President would not have been given a blank check by the Congress for the use of military force in the Quemoy-Matsu area at the discretion of the President without further consultation with, or action by, the Congress.

● Following approval of the Formosa Resolution the Senate ratified the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China on February 9, 1955. Taiwan, the Pescadores and "such other territories as may be determined by mutual agreement" were included in the territories covered by the Mutual Defense Treaty. Senator Morse's motion to remove the quoted phrase was defeated 60-10, but the Committee Report said:

"It is the understanding of the Senate that the 'mutual agreement' . . . shall be construed as requiring the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States." Statements by Secretary of State Dulles in an appearance before the Committee and by Senator Walter George, then Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, on the floor indicated a definite agreement to return to the Senate for approval if the United States was to become committed to the defense of Quemoy and Matsu. No such Senatorial approval has been sought or obtained. (See "How Dulles Tricked Congress," by Senator Wayne Morse, *The Nation*, September 20, 1958.)

PRO AND CON: RECOGNITION AND UN SEATING

August 11, 1958 the Department of State sent to missions abroad a memorandum on U.S. policy regarding non-recognition of Communist China and opposition to seating that Government in the United Nations. According to this memorandum, the U.S. policy is "based on objective considerations of national interest." It is not an inflexible policy, and can be altered if there is a change in the basic situation in the Far East.

The summary below gives the main points of this official memorandum and some frequently-heard counter-arguments. Far reaching changes in American Far Eastern policy ought to be made in spite of Chinese Communist military pressure and Soviet threats and not because of them.

1. *Official U.S. Position:* According to the State Department, diplomatic recognition "would produce no tangible benefits to the United States or to the free world as a whole and would be of material assistance to Chinese Communist attempts to extend Communist domination throughout Asia."

East Asia is "peculiarly vulnerable" to the Communist offensive, because of closeness to China, inexperience in self-government, suspicions of the West inherited from the colonial past, and the social, political and economic changes which these countries are undergoing. Loss of this area to Communism "could have a disastrous effect on the free world's ability to resist effectively the encroachments of Communism elsewhere." Thus the United States has sought to deter Communist aggression in East Asia through military assistance to the nations directly in the path of Chinese Communist expansion—Korea, Taiwan, and Viet-Nam—and by a system of mutual defense arrangements with other nations of the area.

Comment: The whole policy of military containment has extreme limitations, especially in the nuclear age. It has brought the world to the brink of a devastating nuclear war at Quemoy. The way to combat aggression is not to refuse to recognize the aggressor but to bring the disputants to the conference table to negotiate and to confront them with the force of world opinion.

Secretary of State Dulles said on April 25, 1956 that members of the UN are restrained from precipitous action because in the UN "international conduct is judged, sometimes formally but more often informally; and even the most powerful nations feel it expedient to represent their conduct as conforming to this body of world opinion."

The United States must make its first goal the achievement of a disarmed world where military aggression and nuclear blackmail become impossible and where international disputes are settled by peaceful and orderly procedures.

2. *Official U.S. Position:* Non-recognition can help to offset the threat of subversion and political infiltration by reducing China's access to international councils and undercutting that nation's international prestige.

Comment: The way to combat subversion and infiltration is to build sound economies in the underdeveloped countries and encourage stable governments with democratic leadership that can command the confidence of the people. Many Asians have come to believe that China is the victim of unjust ostracism, not because she is Communist, but because she is Asian.

Vast numbers of people in Asia look upon the United States as a threat to peace, and our China policy as confirmation of this view. There is fear either that the United States will use military measures to end the Communist regime in China if it fails to collapse or that Chiang Kai-shek will purposely involve the United States if he can.

3. *Official U.S. Position:* Recognition would have a disastrous effect on other free governments of Asia. They might take desperate measures threatening the peace of the world, or speedily come to terms with Peiping.

Comment: Some of these countries have already recognized the People's Republic of China. Others, such as Viet-Nam and Korea, would profit from a reduction of tensions which would allow them to work out a peaceful accommodation within their own boundaries.

4. *Official U.S. Position:* The Communists have not completed the conquest of China. "The generally recognized legitimate government of China continues to exist and . . . is steadily developing its political, economic and military strength." This Government presents a significant deterrent to renewed Chinese Communist aggression. Recognition of Communist China would "seriously cripple, if not destroy altogether" the legitimate government. Support of the Republic of China, on the other hand, "enables it to challenge the claim of the China Communists to represent the Chinese people and keeps alive the hopes of those Chinese who are determined eventually to free their country of Communist rule." Furthermore, the United States is firmly convinced that Communist rule will pass away. There is already dissatisfaction and unrest. We seek to hasten that passing by withholding diplomatic recognition.

Comment: Most Asians feel that Chiang Kai-shek is a feudalist discredited by his own people. There is little

UN ACTION ON CHINESE REPRESENTATION

Since January 1950, some 46 principal and subsidiary agencies of the United Nations have had to decide who would represent the state of China. With one exception, later reversed, the various organs of the UN have followed the decisions of the General Assembly in refusing to seat the Communist China representatives.

It has been the American policy to oppose seating of Communist China by moving to postpone consideration of the subject rather than a showdown vote on the merits. The General Assembly supported the United States motion for postponement by a vote of 44 to 10, with two abstentions, 1953; 43 to 11 with 6 abstentions in 1954; 42 to 12 with 6 abstentions in 1955; 47 to 24 with 8 abstentions in 1956; 48 to 27 with 6 abstentions in 1957; and 44 to 28 with 9 abstentions in 1958.

possibility of a successful return to the mainland—unless the United States is willing to participate in an invasion. Furthermore, it is generally believed in Asia that the Chinese Communists could easily suppress any internal uprising. The Communist regime has improved the economic conditions of the masses, who have never enjoyed freedom in the Western sense. Visitors to China assert that the Government by its policies on such things as education and health has enlisted wide support among the people.

Recognition of Communist China would not destroy the Nationalist Government if an independent Taiwan were established and if the Nationalists were able to provide a government capable of retaining the loyalty of the people on the island. After all, the population of Taiwan is greater than that of Norway or Sweden or Denmark or Finland, which are all independent countries.

5. Official U.S. Position: If the United States recognizes Red China, the large and influential overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia might switch their allegiance from the Republic of China and become centers of Communist subversion.

Comment: These overseas Chinese know that it is unlikely the Nationalists will ever return to power on the mainland. Many take a policy of non-alignment with either regime. Their future action will depend to a considerable degree on the extent to which they are invited to be full citizens of the country in which they live and are made to feel a part of its society, culture and economy.

6. Official U.S. Position: Recognition would inevitably lead to seating the Chinese Communists in the UN. This would "vitiate, if not destroy, the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace." If this government, "while still unpurged of its aggres-

sion and defying the will of the United Nations in Korea, were seated, this would amount to a confession of failure on the part of the United Nations and would greatly reduce the prospects for future successful action by the United Nations against aggression."

Comment: All nations should be in the UN and all major disputes should be subject to peaceful settlement within its framework. UN membership would not imply approval of the Chinese Communist regime, any more than it has implied approval of Russian Communism, or fascism in Spain, or dictatorship in Cuba, or the attack on Suez by Israel, Great Britain and France, or the suppression of liberty in Hungary. But the UN should be the institution for bringing nations which threaten the peace before the bar of world opinion and the agency to facilitate negotiations for the solutions of the tough, complicated issues which have to be solved or at least ameliorated if the world is to have peace.

Before there can be peace in Asia, there must be a general settlement or a series of settlements, involving Communist China. There are many issues presently before the UN which affect the Peking Government and cannot be solved without its assistance—the question of the Formosa Straits and the offshore islands, Korea, prisoners-of-war, refugees, allegations of forced labor and other violations of human rights in Communist China, international control of opium and other narcotic drugs.

With regard to world disarmament, where progress is imperative, a ban on nuclear tests, or on the use and production of nuclear weapons, or any other agreement would have limited value without the signature and concurrence of Communist China. Is it not logical to anticipate that, if she is to be a signatory, she will have to be in on the negotiations?

There is, of course, no guarantee that Communist China will be cooperative if admitted to the UN. But membership has never guaranteed support of UN principles, nor flexibility of mind, nor even willingness to negotiate. We do know, however, that the chances of peace are greater when nations have an opportunity to talk out their differences. We must transfer the effort for human freedom and resistance to Communist ideology and other totalitarianism from the battlefield—military or political—to the realm of discussion and mediation.

In regard to the very legitimate concern that no nation "shoot its way into the UN," it might be pointed out that, in one sense, all the original members "shot their way into the UN." The original Charter members were the Western allies of World War II. The nations who stayed out of the war such as Switzerland, Sweden and Ireland were not even eligible until later.

In 1950, John Foster Dulles, before he became Secretary of State, said in his book, *War or Peace?*:

"I have now come to believe that the United Nations will best serve the cause of peace if its

Assembly is representative of what the world actually is, and not merely representative of the parts which we like. Therefore we ought to be willing that all the nations should be members without attempting to appraise clearly those which are 'good' and those which are 'bad.'"

7. *Official U.S. Position:* Diplomatic recognition is a privilege and not a right. "Moreover, the United States considers that diplomatic recognition is an instrument of national policy." The People's Republic of China does not qualify for recognition because it does not rule all of China, and the Communist Party which holds mainland China in its grip is a tiny minority of less than two percent of the Chinese people. Nor has it shown any intention to honor its international obligations, including various provisions of the Korean Armistice, the Geneva Accord on Viet-Nam, and the agreement of September 1955, by which it pledged itself to permit all Americans in China to return home "expeditiously."

Comment: The People's Republic may not rule all of China but Chiang Kai-shek, whom we do recognize, rules even less. The United States has recognized other dictatorships in Latin America, the Far East and elsewhere.

It is true that China hasn't lived up to all her commitments. She has gone part way to abiding by the agreement of September 1955 by returning 37 of the remaining 41 prisoners of war. Possibly if she were accepted as an integral part of the world community, she might feel more incentive and more pressure to honor other obligations.

8. *Official U.S. Position:* Non-recognition does not mean that we are ignoring 600 million Chinese. On the contrary, it is not necessary to have diplomatic relations with a regime in order to deal with it. Furthermore, "the United States is convinced that the Chinese Communist regime does not represent the true will or aspirations of the Chinese people and that our policy of withholding recognition" is in their "ultimate interest."

Comment: By non-recognition our Government is isolating itself and the American people from almost one-quarter of the human race. Under the non-recognition policy, Americans are not permitted to travel in China. This means that most of our news from that vast land must filter through French and British correspondents, that students of Chinese culture are cut off from many primary sources, that concerned citizens are handicapped in their desire to go and see and understand. Under such a policy, how can we know about the "will or aspirations" of the Chinese people?

Furthermore, there are many long-term ties between China and the United States which should not be allowed to wither away. During the last century American

churches, foundations and other agencies made a large investment in China, which must have left a considerable reservoir of goodwill. The anti-United States crusade by the Communist government is attempting to stamp this out, but visitors to China from other nations testify to a large amount of friendliness on the part of the Chinese people. The resumption of diplomatic relations might release some of this goodwill and help ease the internal pressures upon those who are favorably disposed toward the West.

9. *Official U.S. Position:* Recognition would not weaken the bond with Moscow, which dates back to 1921. The two partners "clearly realize their mutual dependence and attach great importance to bloc unity *vis-a-vis* the free world." Of particular importance is the fact that the Chinese depend upon Russia for their military supplies.

Comment: Non-recognition is giving the Chinese Government little alternative but to strengthen military, economic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union. If Communist China were represented in the UN many feel she might well adopt a more independent line.

10. *Official U.S. Position:* Recognition is not necessary in order to expand trade with China. Of course, this is not a consideration with the United States since it does not trade with China. But other countries should note that trade opportunities *vis-a-vis* Communist China are severely limited by China's shortage of foreign exchange.

CHINA AND DISARMAMENT— A SENATE VIEW

Here are some comments from the unanimous final report of the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament released September 12, 1958:

"... As the subcommittee has evaluated events in the area of China and within China itself which are directly related to disarmament, it has concluded that there is a real possibility that the exclusion of China from a first step disarmament agreement might provide the Soviet Union a significant loophole through which to evade such an agreement. Obviously, whether this loophole would exist would depend on the nature of the agreement. The subcommittee notes in this connection that an agreement which involved the suspension of nuclear weapons tests with inspection and which did not include inspection in Communist China might present an opportunity for evasions on the part of the Soviet bloc. The United States must not contemplate signing a disarmament agreement which would permit its security to be jeopardized. The subcommittee is of the opinion, therefore, that greater attention must be paid to the question of including Communist China in any disarmament agreement which would provide for the suspension of nuclear weapons tests with inspection."

Such trade is also at the mercy of ever-changing Communist political considerations.

Comment: The United States has had a total embargo on trade with China since December 1950 and has urged other nations to adopt a similar policy. A number of other nations maintained a fairly stringent embargo on strategic exports, 1951-57, but they have now revolted against American pressures and have dropped some of these restrictions. Although there is some question as to the size of the China market, this market is

CONGRESS AND COMMUNIST CHINA

Both the Senate and the House adopted by voice vote the Holland resolution on May 15, 1951 that member nations of the UN embargo shipments of arms and materials to Communist China, in order not to aid the war-making potential of that country during the Korean War. On January 23, 1951 the Senate voted 91-0 for the resolution by Senator McClellan which declared "That it is the sense of the Senate that the Communist Chinese Government should not be admitted to membership in the United Nations as the representative of China."

In 1956 the House voted 391-0 and the Senate 86-0 against seating Communist China. A rider strongly disapproving seating the People's Republic of China has been included in the State Department Appropriation bill since 1955. A similar rider has been included in the Mutual Security Appropriation Act since 1956.

The Committee of One Million which is crusading against any change in U.S. China policy claims a membership of 22 Senators and 78 Representatives.

Congressional sentiment is changing from adamant opposition to a frequent admission that this policy must be changed eventually and a growing recognition that Communist China must be a party to any effective disarmament agreement.

important to certain countries, such as Japan, and to particular producers, such as rubber growers. The United States should recognize that our rigid trade policy has caused bitterness among our allies and has added to tensions in the Far East.

11. Official U.S. Position: Forty-five non-Communist countries recognize the Republic of China. Only 19 countries [32 counting Communist countries] have recognized the Peiping Government, and most of these did so before the Korean War. Recognition by a leading free world nation would therefore be interpreted as an important victory for the Chinese Communists and as a sign of free world reluctance to stand up to Communist pressures. Other free nations would also extend recognition. This would greatly enhance the "prestige, influence and power" of the Communist Chinese regime and "make more difficult the effort to maintain free world security in the Pacific Area."

Comment: The United States is naturally concerned that its actions do not involve compromises of principle or appeasement. Political choices are not always between a clear moral course and an immoral one. Oftentimes they are difficult and complex choices between two moral considerations. The overriding question now is what course will more likely prevent a third World War, and what is more likely to advance the process of negotiation and settlement.

A deep moral issue is whether more humility on the part of the West, more forbearance, more efforts at reconciliation and common understanding, more repentance, would not be more appropriate from people who call themselves Christian in their ethical outlook, and might not advance the cause of peace and justice better than revenge, hatred, isolation and bitterness. We have to learn to co-exist, or in a hydrogen bomb era, it is likely we will cease to exist.

LOVE IS SKIN DEEP?

The following appeared in the weekly paper of the Bethany Christian Church, Ft. Worth, Texas, written by the minister, Mr. J. J. Walker:

"Magic? Yes, it would seem so.

"He walks to the door. Hesitating for a moment, he gently pulls it open and steps inside. Immediately a man walks across the room and speaks to him in a low, determined voice. Without a reply, he silently leaves the room—by a side door.

"I walk to the door. Confidently, I swing it open and step into the room. Immediately a man walks across the room and greets me warmly. He makes me comfortable in an attractive corner of the room and asks what more he can do for me.

"He steps from the curb. Tires scream, but it is too late. Somebody immediately phones for an ambulance. In a couple of minutes, its siren shrieking, the vehicle comes to an abrupt halt beside him and the attendant steps out. And he sees him lying there. And he shakes his head and steps back inside the ambulance, and it rolls away, leaving him lying in the gutter. Someone else must get him.

"I step from the curb. Tires scream, but it is too late. Somebody immediately phones for an ambulance. In a couple of minutes the attendant rushes to my side and gently places me on a stretcher. Another five minutes and I am in the emergency room of the finest hospital. Careful, capable hands administer to my broken body.

"He steps on the train. Only one seat is vacant. Politely he asks the other man if he may sit beside him. The other flushes with irritation—gets up and leaves the car. The other passengers scowl their disapproval. He quietly takes the seat. Alone. Nobody takes the other beside him.

"I step on the train. Only one seat is vacant. Lady's purse is on it. I point to the purse. She puts it on the floor in front of her. I sit down and eat the sandwich I bought at the station. I read my paper. I pull my hat down over my eyes and lean back for a comfortable nap. Nobody even noticed that I had got on the car.

"Magic? Yes, of a sort.

"—My skin is white."

CONVERSATIONS ON THEOLOGY AND SOCIAL ETHICS

The third year of Conversations in theology and social ethics convened August 26-29, 1958 at Story City, Iowa under the auspices of the Department of Social Welfare, UCMS.

About 58 persons including professors in theology, and Christian ethics, local church ministers, laymen and laywomen, and administrators participated in the 1958 Conversations.

The purpose of these Conversations is to develop an acquaintance with Disciple and ecumenical thought that might provide a basis for social action in specific situations.

The 1959 Conversations will be held August 21-25 in the Denver, Colorado area preceding the International Convention.

"MEETING FELLOWSHIP NEEDS OF THE OLDER PERSON . . ."

(Continued from Page 1)

legal advice).

It is important that every local church becomes involved in a ministry of services to the older people of its constituency, and to those of its community. Since the fellowship of worship in the church sanctuary is the highest fellowship and one of the best ways to arrest the feeling of loneliness it is extremely important that older people have opportunity to participate in it. Transportation should be provided for those who are able to attend the worship services but cannot come without this assistance. Those who are shut-in should have frequent visits from the minister, the elders and others, as well as opportunities to share in a Communion Service. Tape recordings of special services can be made and then played back to those who are homebound. A little extra planning would make it possible for all those confined to their homes to have the printed Sunday worship service in hand before the date it is to be used so that they may join in the fellowship of worship at home.

● Available upon request: A mimeographed leaflet with a variety of suggestions for "Meeting the Fellowship Needs of the Older Person in the Local Church." Write Department of Social Welfare, UCMS.

—RUTH E. MILNER

ST. LOUIS RESTAURANTS SERVE ALL PEOPLE

The program book for the St. Louis Assembly of the International Convention carried a listing of "Eating Places Open to All." The local committee working on arrangements is to be congratulated on the fine work they did in getting the information. The list of restaurants is considerably longer than the list available just a year ago.

Convention participants were encouraged to eat at the following establishments in the downtown area that reported that they would serve all convention guests, regardless of race. People were urged to report any incident occurring in any of the places listed below not in keeping with this statement, giving complete details to the Information Desk in the Exhibit Area at Kiel Auditorium.

● *Kiel Auditorium*: Cafeteria, and Concession Stands.

● *Hotels*: All dining rooms in the twelve hotels serving our delegates; Sheraton-Jefferson, Statler, Melbourne, Coronado, Lennox, Claridge, Mark Twain, Mayfair, Desoto, Baltimore, York and Warwick.

● *Department Stores*: Open weekdays for luncheon. Also Monday and Thursday for dinner. All dining rooms at: Scruggs-Vandervort-Barney, Famous-Barr, Stix-Baer-Fuller.

● *Miss Hullings Restaurants*: Tea Room and Cafeteria, 11th and Locust; Cafeteria, 725 Olive.

● *YMCA*: 16th and Locust.

● *Fred Harvey Restaurant*: Union Railroad Station.

● *Drug Stores*: Katz; 7th and Locust, and 8th and Washington. *Walgreen*; 10th and Olive and 811 Washington.

● *Dime Stores*: Kresge; 6th and Washington. *Woolworth*; 8th and Olive, 6th and Locust. *McCrary*; 421 N. Sixth.

● *Greyhound Bus Station*: Delmar and Broadway.

● *Union Market Counter*: 711 N. Sixth Street.

District Home Rule

District of Columbia residents remain voteless as a result of the failure of the House of Representatives to grant home rule. A bill to allow D. C. residents to elect a mayor, city council, school board, and a non-voting member of the House of Representatives had passed the Senate on June 29, 1955.



When Your Committee Meets—

The Committee on Christian Action and Community Service in your church may find suggestions and help from the following list of events, projects and resources:

CHURCH AND ECONOMIC LIFE THRUST

Beginning with Church and Economic Life Week, January 18-24, 1959, the first coordinated thrust in Protestantism, with basic planning by the National Council of Churches, will be undertaken in this area of the Church's concern.

The purpose for this thrust will be to bring about recognition by church members of the Christian responsibility in their daily work, and of the church's duty to help them in their task. "Do Christian ethics and business ethics cover different areas of conduct?" "What is the relationship between 'what I believe' and 'what I do'?" Local church conferences will be set up to seek to clarify such relationships, and build a bridge of understanding and action between Sunday and Monday. The insights of the Christian faith will be brought to bear on the problems of the workaday world.

Your Department or Committee of Christian Action and Community Service will want to join hands with others in this coordinated effort.

Write the Department of Social Welfare, UCMS, for information regarding:

1. A suggested outline for a conference, or series of conferences.
2. Leadership for the conference.
3. Any other information you feel we are able to give for the success of such a conference.
4. Also, the following especially prepared resources:

A LEADER'S PACKET. "The Social Responsibility of Christians in Daily Work." Specific program suggestions and ideas. Order from: Christian Board, St. Louis. \$1.00.

FILMSTRIPS:

- "Biggest Thing in Middleville." Sound, color. Purchase: Christian Board, St. Louis. \$12.50. Rental: Audio Visuals, UCMS. \$2.50.
- "Living Right At Our Work." A 5-meeting—sound filmstrip-kit. Purchase: CBP, St. Louis. \$49.00. Rental: Audio Visuals, UCMS. \$2.50.

NEW IDEAS FOR THANKSGIVING

Ever consider sharing your home with a person from another country? There are many, many students scattered about the U. S. who would be more than delighted to share a traditional American Thanks-

giving in someone's home.

In Paris, Illinois, citizens of the community, under the leadership of Mrs. T. G. Trogdon, begin plans in the summer for their International Thanksgiving observances. Some of the specific steps are:

Homes of the community are enlisted as hosts to one or two students who will come to Paris for the holiday.—Chartered busses go to the Chicago area and get the students who previously have been contacted and visited by the local committee.—For four days 150 students from other countries live with 75 to 80 volunteer host families. Last year 41 nations were represented.—The project is financed by voluntary contributions.—Thanksgiving Day is programmed in one of the local churches with appropriate worship services, a Thanksgiving dinner, fellowship games and sing during the afternoon and evening.—The students then go home with their host families for a week-end of American home life.—A return bus trip gets them to Chicago in time to begin their regular school routine after the holiday.

This same general plan is followed in a more simple fashion by other churches and church groups. For instance, a business women's class in Third Christian Church, Indianapolis, has a committee which contacts foreign students in nearby college and university centers cultivating their interests and friendship. At the Thanksgiving season the committee arranges with church families to entertain one or more students for the holiday. Many unique and broadening friendships grow out of such relationships. Moreover, the horizons of the American family are pushed out and a better understanding of other peoples is formed.

RUTH E. MILNER

CHRISTIAN ACTION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE MANUAL

From Chapter VI—Know Your Allies

"The department . . . worked out a program for developing rapport between the church and each agency by . . .

"(1) listing all agencies that existed in the Community, (2) making friendly calls on personnel, (3) studying the agency objectives and programs, (4) seeing that experienced leaders of an agency were invited to speak before church organizations and (5) planning visits to the agencies.

"One interesting fact that the department discovered was that many church members already were giving volunteer services in hospitals, nursing homes for the aged, children's homes and other community agencies. This led to setting up a card file of those persons giving volunteer services and eventually resulted in the department's forming a subcommittee on Community Agency Volunteers.

" . . . If the church is to play its part in meeting men's needs it must be well acquainted with its potential allies and prepared to work with them . . . Many city and county councils of churches also have departments of Social Welfare which work closely with Red Feather and public welfare groups. Every locality also has some sort of city or county welfare agency."

Social Action

NEWS LETTER

Second-class mail privileges
authorized at
Indianapolis, Indiana.